

1/31/66

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)
(100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136585)
(100-153735)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
SM-C

CIRM
IS-C

Re Atlanta airtel to Bureau, 1/20/66, captioned
as above.

New York letter to Bureau, with copies to Atlanta,
dated 10/12/65, captioned, "COMINFIL, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference, IS-C", contains information pertaining
to

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b7c

- 4 - Bureau (100-106670) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529)
- 3 - Atlanta (100-5586) (RM)
(1 - 100-6670)
(1 - 100-6670A)
- 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.) (42)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)

JCS: gnd
(10)

(Handwritten initials and signatures)

100-153735-2139

648-16-33475-1 GPO

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

Date:

Date Charged

Employee

Location

Date received 1/31/66	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by SA <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 20px;"></div>	b6 b7C b7D
Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks) <input type="checkbox"/> in person <input type="checkbox"/> by telephone <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> by mail <input type="checkbox"/> orally <input type="checkbox"/> recording device <input type="checkbox"/> written by Informant			
If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agents: Date _____ Dictated _____ to _____ Transcribed _____ Authenticated by Informant 1/29/66		Date of Report 1/29/66 Date(s) of activity 1/15-17/66	
Brief description of activity or material REPORT OF <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 20px;"></div> ON THE DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION.		File where original is located if not attached <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	

Remarks: Much of this information was included in Miami LHM dated 2/4/66, under caption CPUSA ORGANIZATION, copies for Bureau and New York.

COPIES7 - NEW YORK (RM)

- 1 - 100-80641 (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUNER)
- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-86624 (CPUSA INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 1 - 100-89691 (CPUSA DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION)
- ✓ 1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)
- 1 - 100-89590 (CPUSA STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)

1 - MIAMI Sub A)

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100-153735-2140

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SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 7 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 1 1966	
FBI - MIAMI	

REPORT OF [REDACTED] ON THE DRAFT POLITICAL
RESOLUTION

(Note: At the National Committee meeting a Draft Political Resolution was introduced but withdrawn. It was circulated among NC members for reading and information, but then required to return the document to either Arnold Johnson or Dan Rubin and be "checked out" as returning it. The lack of such a Resolution is unusual in CP meetings which always summarizes a deliberative assembly with such an omnibus document which ordinarily represents an agreed consensus of everything discussed and becomes the accepted "line" on the policies and questions which had been brought up and discussed. However, presenting such a Resolution and then withdrawing it is even more unusual. It implies no consensus and no agreement on tactics and policies for the next period of time. Any such agreement is covered by the vague and general decision to "endorse the general line" of the report made by Hall. As this report was quite generalized and on many major points of policy was indefinite or inconclusive, it means that aside from some general propositions, the NC meeting left open a series of important political propositions for further determination. The reason for this is quite likely that by time of the NC meeting the leadership had not sufficient time to reach agreement and common view on a number of "new" aspects of the policy line which the NC now wishes to embark upon. The following is the essence of the report made by [REDACTED] on the uncertainties surrounding the resolution, and why it was suggested that this meeting not adopt the traditional statement of policy in form of a political resolution.)

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This Draft Resolution was prepared originally as a guide to our future work and as a basis of policy discussion at this meeting.

However, questions arose as to why a general resolution now and why not a specific resolution reviewing our work and the political situation and as part of the National Convention discussion?

This was not possible because these are usually of an omnibus type and a Convention resolution could not deal with fragments of matters but undertake a basic view of the problems of life and society. A Convention type resolution would find it necessary to examine the overall state of general affairs, of all relationships, the relative strength of the working-class, Negro people, etc. It would have to fundamentally go into the status and outlook of the Party, and draw overall conclusions of our tasks, and other matters.

The issuance of the present Resolution laps over and is complicated by the issuance of the new Draft Program. The Program, and no resolution, is intended as the major focus of our outlook.

Would a Resolution undercut or deflect such consideration of the Program? Would such a resolution not be superfluous and unnecessary. Some questions arose whether all this would not unnecessarily burden our members more.

However, many comrades argued that issuance of the Program should not nor does not negate the specific need of such a resolution. Gus Hall had argued that the Program is not or should be considered a resolution, but deals with basic goals, our main outlook for times to come, a broad sweep of basic perspectives and total range of policy. But our immediate work and that of the year or so ahead need a resolution to reflect the existing situation and tasks for such a period. He thought the Program and Resolution at the same time dovetails and is no contradiction or competition for attention.

Therefore we prepared a brief resolution (Note: of 17 legal sized pages!) to single out the key issues and subjects we face on the road ahead. These subjects are terse points and theses.

What is the general orientation of this Resolution? The 17th Convention (of 1959) reviewed the new possibilities of mass socialist struggle. The ensuing years saw these processes proceed and unfold in the manner then foresaw.

The dialectical contradiction evident at that time is still the backdrop of any policy estimate or analysis today. Today it is the key question of Viet Nam, the fight for peace, the struggle of the right of nations for self-determination and independence.

Though the specific nature of issues are now different than 1959, when Berlin was the major point of issue, the aggressions of imperialism is still the issue. The economic issues play the same and larger importance.

That is why the present Resolution selects specific aspects of struggle to focus upon, while considering as still valid the estimate we made of world conditions and relationships of forces in 1959 Convention resolution.

Some comrades have made a number of criticisms of this Resolution. Lumped together they take this form:

It shows no excitement. Is dully matter of fact.

It is negative to the civil rights mass struggles and fails in any way to show or feel the vast sweep of this struggle and of the interplay of forces which transformed it from scattered and ineffective protests into a huge movement of our times.

It says little about our Party gains and actually tends to minimize them.

It should contain a greater elaboration of our basic goals.

It fails to deal with the question of the nature of monopoly capitalism and state our goals from our experiences on this matter.

It needs to review the policies of the Party as part of all the recent developments (Note: Hall is especially opposed to this as there is the implicit desire to establish that party policies under Hall's leadership fell short of what was needed from time to time and in regard to specific events and developments.)

It needs a better and more extensive elaboration of the many complexities of the political situation and our own policies toward same, such as blurring of classes and role of classes versus differences in monopolist ranks, etc. (Note: same as above.) Is Hall's policies and leadership swing away from the workingclass and suffer from reliance on liberalism, middle class ideologies, etc?)

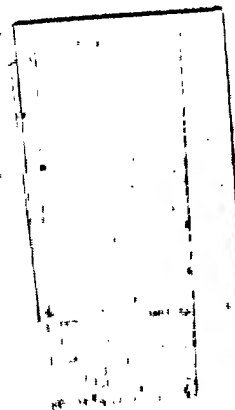
It does not deal with the international ideological difference (Sino-Soviet, etc); or examine the question of the rise or fall of red baiting influence; or the South as being central to our concentration policy; or except briefly, to the Draft Program as part of its outlook; or any reference to the Puerto Rican situation.

These criticisms are being mentioned so that speakers will not use their short speaking time to raise matters which have already been established and are "under consideration."

There is one agreed and accepted criticism, on page 13, middle of the page, which is being amended to better express matters relating to trade union unity, of the growth within unions of a greater militancy (transit) and also of the emerging of sharp criticism within the unions of wrong leadership policies (and greater possibilities of inner union movements against "war" policy of Meany, etc.)

There is a feeling among a number of comrades that we need a longer and more specific resolution, one containing a review of our work, etc, which should be launched at time of the Program. There is general agreement on this. The present draft is therefore considered as just a basis for such type of resolution, and is not presented to this meeting as conclusive or final.

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In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
February 1, 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A confidential source on January 27, 1966 advised that as of January 19, 1966 the Finance Office of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) summarized for HARRY WACHTEL, Executive Vice President of the American Foundation on Non-Violence (AFN), SCLC's operations during the period December 6, 1965 to January 19, 1966 in regard to its receipt of the first grant of \$15,000 from the AFN.

This summary reflected that \$5,000 of the grant had inadvertently been deposited to SCLC's general bank account thereby leaving a balance of \$10,000 available in SCLC's Crusade for Citizenship account.

Source explained that money received by SCLC from the AFN pursuant to existing instructions of ANDREW J. YOUNG, Executive Director, SCLC, is to be deposited in a special bank account recently opened and maintained for this purpose which is referred to as the Crusade for Citizenship account.

Source advised this summary indicated the aforementioned \$5,000 was to be transferred by SCLC from its general account to the Crusade for Citizenship account in the near future. Of the remaining \$10,000 as of January 19, 1966 \$9,981.16 had been spent by SCLC in connection with recent voter registration activity in Alabama.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
32 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

100-153735-2141

~~SECRET~~

HARRY WACHTEL

HARRY WACHTEL is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York. He resides at 29 Split Rock Drive, King Point, Long Island, New York.

A confidential source furnished information in December, 1949, that HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on the list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, a confidential source furnished information which revealed that the name HARRY WACHTEL was on the list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding [redacted] it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

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~~SECRET~~

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GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

~~SECRET~~

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THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," advised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

2. Cited as a Communist front which "is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations and controlled unions" and which "since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents." (Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally released September 17, 1950.)

3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
February 1, 1966

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 2/1/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Atlanta file 100-5718
Bureau file 100-438794
✓ CIRM 100-151548 *
Atlanta file 100-6670
Bureau file 100-442529

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM dated 12/3/65, captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 3 copies LHM.

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Source referred to in enclosed LHM is

Sources utilized to characterize WACHTEL are NY 1190-S* and Anonymous Source of WFO set out in report of SA 7/19/50, at WFO re: "NLG; IS-C."

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On 1/27/66, informant furnished autostatic copy of the summary referred to in the enclosed LHM. This was captioned "Crusade for Citizenship, December 6, 1965 to January 19, 1966, Procedural and Financial Report."

- 4 - Bureau (3 - 100-438794) (Enc. 9) (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529)
- ③ - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
- (1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 4 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
- (1 - 100-6670)
- (1 -)
- (1 - 157-621) (ANDREW YOUNG)

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AGS:cmp
(11)

100-153735-2142

SEARCHED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	INDEXED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SERIALIZED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FILED <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FEB 2 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent: _____

M

Per _____

AT 100-5718

AGS:cmp

This was a single type written page prepared by informant for the benefit of WACHTEL and is in the nature of an informal financial report. It also specifies procedures adopted by SCLC pertaining to the use of Crusade for Citizenship funds by SCLC officials. These procedural matters were not considered pertinent to the enclosed LHM and, therefore, have not been included therein. The autostatic copy furnished by informant is being retained as an exhibit to Atlanta file 100-5718.

Dissemination of information furnished by [redacted] should be classified Confidential because this source occupies a sensitive position with SCLC and dissemination of information furnished by this source to unauthorized individuals could reasonably result in jeopardizing his security.

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The enclosed LHM has been classified Secret because it contains information from a highly sensitive source with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-153735

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

A source advised on January 31, 1966, that a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) was held at Communist Party headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on January 19, 1966. Among those in attendance were HENRY WINSTON, JAMES JACKSON, WILLIAM PATTERSON, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, PAT TOOHEY, CARL WINTER and GUS HALL.

The subject matter under discussion was the problem of the increase of white chauvinist expressions within and without the Communist Party and in certain electoral activities.

HENRY WINSTON introduced the subject by stating that in the recent period, a number of such manifestations had appeared and that today they reflect greater damage on the Party because the movements and struggles are larger and there are a greater number of Negroes engaged in these movements. WINSTON said he has heard of a number of instances within the Party where certain white comrades are manifesting chauvinist objections to working under or accepting leadership from Negro comrades. However, the most glaring example was the role of certain Party members in the city elections recently held in Cleveland, Ohio, and Miami, Florida.

In the Cleveland mayoralty election, where the Negro candidate lost the election by a narrow margin of 2,000 votes, WINSTON called attention to the activity of several prominent and influential white Communists and "progressives" who opposed the Negro candidate and supported his unacceptable opponent, the present Mayor of Cleveland. WINSTON said he was convinced that the activities of these persons were sufficiently influential as to make the difference between defeat and victory for the Negro candidate.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

② ②
FEB 5, 1966

100-153735-2143

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

WINSTON said that an even graver situation was exhibited during the recent City Commission election at Miami. There the activities and role of several influential Party members who broke from Party decisions can be charged with the responsibility for making the difference in the defeat of a Negro woman candidate for the City Commission. There were nearly 40,000 votes cast in this election and the Negro candidate lost by only 1400 votes. These several comrades were sufficiently influential in various organizations that their unpermissible support for the opponent was responsible for this margin of votes.

WINSTON said that these various examples, all arising together or in the same period of time, would demonstrate that they are not isolated happenings but omens of what may be happening elsewhere. He believed that these instances will occur again and again in varied localities and therefore, the Party should move at once against any more such situations developing.

WINSTON commended PAT TOOHEY and the Miami Communist Party for directing the attention of the national leadership to this situation by submitting a memorandum for action by the national leadership. He said that the Secretariat and the Negro Commission had already discussed the memorandum and agreed with its content and proposal.

Concerning the Miami, Florida situation, it appears that a dispute arose within the Miami Communist Party over support of a [] a Negro businesswoman who was allegedly wealthy and not a "progressive." Some of the Miami Party members held the view that because [] was a rich banker and not a "progressive," she should not be supported just because she is a Negro. However, the majority of Party members held that according to Party policy, she should have been supported even though not a "progressive."

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JAMES JACKSON was highly in favor of the position of the majority of Miami Communist Party members and urged that this position be strongly upheld.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was especially bitter about the reported cases of objecting to working under Negro leaders and called for a most penetrating treatment of the entire situation.

WILLIAM PATTERSON gave examples of the rise of the existing forms of white chauvinism in Party and outside ranks and said it was noteworthy that this chauvinism came not from the new people but in most cases from old, long-term Party members and the people in the progressive ranks who had been around a long time.

It was decided after a two-hour discussion that the National Secretariat should prepare an answer to the memorandum from the Miami Communist Party; that [redacted] would deliver this answer when he visits Miami on February 10, 1966, and that the memorandum would be written as a political document for use throughout the Party. Also, HENRY WINSTON was directed to prepare a basic article on this subject for publication in "Political Affairs." This article is intended as a directive for the Party and its supporters concerning this problem. Finally, the Secretariat letter and the WINSTON article will be made the object of a special discussion by the Cleveland District Committee and the Miami City Committee.

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"Political Affairs" is self-identified as the theoretical organ of the CPUSA.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-153735

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Memorandum dated and captioned as above at New York, New York

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

Date: FEB 3 1966

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, MIAMI (100-15058)(P*)

CIRM
IS - C
(OO: New York)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 6 copies, for New York 10 copies, for Chicago one copy, and for Cleveland 2 copies of an LHM concerning a meeting of the CPUSA National Negro Commission held 1/19/66 at New York City.

The source utilized is

b7D

- 4 - Bureau (Enc-6) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-69, CPUSA Organization)
- 10 - New York (Enc-10) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-153735, CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-80641, CPUSA Organization)
 - (1 - 100-131666, CPUSA Southern Region)
 - (1 - 100-84994, GUS HALL)
 - (1 - 100-269, HENRY WINSTON)
 - (1 - 100-16785, JAMES JACKSON)
 - (1 - 100- WILLIAM PATTERSON)
 - (1 - 100-27539, CARL WINTER)
 - (1 - 100-128255,)
 - (1 - 100- "POLITICAL AFFAIRS")
- 1 - Chicago (61-867, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT) (Enc-1) (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (Enc-2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- CIRM)
 - (1 - 100- CPUSA Organization)
- 4 - Miami
 - (1 - 100-15058, CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-800, CPUSA Organization)
 - (1 - 100-15181, PAT TOOHEY)
 - (1 -)

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RLO:sll
(20)

100-153735-2144

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 5 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Sexton J. [Signature]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

MM 100-15058

This LHM has been classified "~~confidential~~" as it contains information from the above source the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the U. S.

The LHM has been written as though emanating from the New York Office in order to more adequately protect this valuable source.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

Atlanta, Georgia
February 7, 1966

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN
CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On February 4, 1966, a confidential source advised [redacted] Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) informed Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., President, SCLC, that as of that date SCLC was in receipt of a check in the amount of \$926.22 payable to the American Foundation on Non-Violence. She said this check had been received from [redacted] did not mention where [redacted] resides but told Reverend KING [redacted] letter enclosing this check referred to prior correspondence with Reverend KING in which [redacted] had pointed out he had a client who was interested in donating money to SCLC.

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Reverend KING instructed [redacted] to forward the aforementioned check to HARRY WACHTEL.

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GROUP 1

Excluded from Automatic
Downgrading and Declassification

100-153735-2145

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 8 1966	
NEW YORK	

138

~~SECRET~~

HARRY WACHTEL

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Regarding [redacted] it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed her name and address were on a list of names of newly-elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County Communist Party.

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GANDHI SOCIETY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Gandhi Society for Human Rights was formed for the purpose of developing a philosophy and technique of non-violent civil rights protests. It is a non-action organization and makes no attempt to influence legislation nor participate in demonstrations. The Society furnishes legal assistance in certain civil rights cases. The organization was incorporated June 14, 1962.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," advised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following information concerning "The National Lawyers Guild:"

1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

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3. "To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the *** National Lawyers' Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

Atlanta, Georgia
February 7, 1966

FD 323

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead Memorandum, dated and captioned as above, at Atlanta, Georgia.

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F B I

Date: 2/7/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA

RE: COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
Atlanta file 100-5718
Bureau file 100-438794
✓ CIRM 100-151548
✓ Atlanta file 100-6670
Bureau file 100-442529

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 8 copies and for New York 3 copies LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is AT 1381-S*.

Source utilized to characterize WACHTEL are NY 1190-S* and Anonymous source of WFO set out in report of SA JOHN J. WALSH at WFO 7/19/50 re "NLG; IS-C."

If the information from AT 1381-S* is utilized for lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the source.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because it contains information from a highly sensitive source with respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is felt this classification is necessary in order not to jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing information of this nature.

- 4 - Bureau (3 - 100-438794) (Enc. 9) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529)
- ③ - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL)
- 5 - Atlanta (1 - 100-5718)
(1 - 100-6670) (1 - 157-710) [redacted]
(1 - 100-6670A) (1 - 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)

AGS:cmp
(12)

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

100-153735-2146

SEARCHED <u>73</u>	INDEXED <u>73</u>
SERIALIZED <u>73</u>	FILED <u>73</u>
FEB 8 1966	
FBI NEW YORK	

[Signature]

b6
b7c



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
February 9, 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On February 8, 1966, a confidential source advised a woman whose identity was not known to source explained to RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL, Program Director, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), that she and some other individuals (not identified) were interested in organizing a small business somewhere in the State of Alabama. This woman pointed out to BLACKWELL that she and the people to whom she referred were anxious to obtain advice from qualified people who have had experience with small businesses and asked BLACKWELL what advice he could offer in this regard.

BLACKWELL told this woman to get in touch with STANLEY LEVISON, an attorney whose address he said is 1941 Broadway, New York, New York. BLACKWELL described LEVISON as "SCLC's oldest and best friend" and said he could put her in touch with businessmen in New York City who are well qualified to counsel people who are organizing small businesses.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
~~GROUP 1~~
EXCLUDED FROM
AUTOMATIC DOWNGRADING
AND DECLASSIFICATION

100-153725-2147

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100

~~SECRET~~

RANDOLPH BLACKWELL

On February 26, 1953, a confidential source advised RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

A confidential source advised that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL attended a Labor Youth League convention on August 13, 1950, at the Algonquin Club, 1400 Fayetteville Street, Durham, North Carolina.

The Labor Youth League has been designated by the U.S. Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

STANLEY LEVISON

A confidential source advised in April, 1964, that STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party (CP), USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position in civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Atlanta, Georgia
February 9, 1966

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above at Atlanta, Georgia

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1 1

F B I

Date: 2/9/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
 FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)
 RE: CIRM 100-151548*

Enclosed for the Bureau is the original and 7 copies
 and for New York 2 copies LHM.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is AT 1380-S*.
 Sources used to characterize BLACKWELL [] and
 [] Source used to characterize LEVISON is NY 694-S*.

b7D

Source was unable to ascertain any identifying data
 regarding the female to whom BLACKWELL spoke as referred to
 in the enclosed LHM or pertaining to the precise location
 of this female. The manner of their conversation suggested
 to source they were previously well acquainted.

If the information from AT 1380-S* is utilized for
 lead purposes, care should be taken not to jeopardize the
 source.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Secret~~ because
 it contains information from a highly sensitive source with
 respect to the racial situation in the Atlanta area. It is
 felt this classification is necessary in order not to
 jeopardize the valuable position of the informant in furnishing
 information of this nature.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)
 2 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
 (1- 100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON)
 3 - Atlanta
 (1- 100-6670)
 (1- 100-6670A)
 (1- 157-698) (R. T. BLACKWELL)

AGS:cb
 (8)

100-153735-2148

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100 - 153735)

DATE: 2/10/66

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42

SUBJECT: CIRM

Inasmuch as "THE WORKER" of 2/8/66 contains information that GEORGE MEYERS, a member of the National Negro Commission of the CP, was to be in New York City on 2/9/66, for a speaking engagement, a physical surveillance was conducted at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., in an effort to determine if MEYERS would go to Headquarters and if his visit to NYC would in some way be related to the Negro Commission of the CP. MEYERS was not observed at CP Headquarters on 2/9/66.

100-153735-2149

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB • 0 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY.....8.....4-55 PM. PT

2: 00 PM EST URGENT 2-10-66 MRB / MSE

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

DECODED COPY

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON-ENCODED
FROM ATLANTA 101657

CIRM.

RE NYTEL FEBRUARY NINE LAST CAPTIONED MARTIN LUTHER KING;

SM-C.

ON THE EVENING OF FEBRUARY NINE LAST, [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

ON FEBRUARY EIGHT LAST , REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
PRESIDENT, SCLC, ANNOUNCED THAT COMMENCING AT TEN AM ,
FEBRUARY ONE TWO NEXT, , AT SCLC HEADQUARTERS, THERE WOULD BE A
MEETING OF INDIVIDUALS CONCERNED WITH RAISING OF FUNDS FOR
SCLC. KING EMPHASIZED THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS INSTRUCTED
TO ATTEND THIS MEETING SHOULD PLAN ON IT BEING AN ALL DAY
SESSION. INFORMANT ADVISED KING INSTRUCTED RALPH D. ABERNATHY,
VICE PRESIDENT ANDSTREASURER, SCLC; RANDOLPH T. BLACKWELL,
PROGRAM DIRECTOR, SCLC; ANDREW J. YOUNG EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,

100-153735-2150

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 12 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

DECODED COPY

PAGE TWO

SCLC; HOSEA WILLIAMS, DIRECTOR, VOTER REGISTRATION, SCLC;

[REDACTED] OF THE SCLC FINANCE

OFFICE, TO ATTEND THIS MEETING. KING ALSO INVITED

[REDACTED] SERVING AS TEMPORARY SCLC COMPTROLLER,

AND [REDACTED] ATLANTA CPA UTILIZED BY SCLC, TO ATTEND.

KING STATED HE WAS INVITING [REDACTED] SCLC LEGAL

COUNSELOR FROM CHICAGO, STANLEY LEVISON, [REDACTED]

AND HARRY WACHTEL OF NEW YORK CITY TO ATTEND THIS MEETING.

REFERENCED TEL REFERS TO KING'S OBSERVATION THAT ONLY TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS OR THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS PER DAY HAVE RECENTLY BEEN RECEIVED BY SCLC IN CONTRIBUTIONS. AS A MATTER OF INTEREST IN THIS CONNECTION, [REDACTED] ADVISED ON FEBRUARY NINE LAST, THAT CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED BY SCLC VIA MAIL FOR THE PERIOD FEBRUARY SEVEN THROUGH NINE SIXTY SIX, AVERAGE ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS PER DAY.

[REDACTED] WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE AFOREMENTIONED MEETING ON FEBRUARY ONE TWO NEXT. IN VIEW OF THIS AND TO MAINTAIN INFORMANT'S SECURITY, ATLANTA WILL NOT CONDUCT PHYSICAL SURVEILLANCE REGARDING JONES, LEVISON OR WACHTEL.

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PAGE THREE

INFORMANT ON FEBRUARY ONE TWO - ONE THREE, NEXT, HAS SCLC MEMBER AS WEEKEND GUEST, AND ON EVENING OF FEBRUARY ONE FOUR - ONE FIVE NEXT, WILL BE INVOLVED IN PREPARATION BIMONTHLY PAYROLL. ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO CONTACT INFORMANT EVENING FEBRUARY ONE SIX NEXT, AT WHICH TIME HIS COMPLETE KNOWLEDGE OF FEBRUARY ONE TWO NEXT, MEETING WILL BE OBTAINED.

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BECAUSE THIS SOURCE OCCUPIES A SENSITIVE POSITION WITH SCLC AND DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THIS SOURCE TO UNAUTHORIZED INDIVIDUALS COULD REASONABLY RESULT IN JEOPARDIZING HIS SECURITY.

END

NY...MFR

FBI NEW YORK

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (100-800) (P)

SUBJECT: CPUSA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

DATE: FEB 7 1966

On January 26, 1966, [redacted] advised of the following information obtained at the National Committee meeting, CPUSA, January 15-17, 1966, New York City, and from individual conversations with GUS HALL, [redacted] HENRY WINSTON and other CPUSA leaders:

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Contrary to former National Committee meetings, there existed evidence that the Party has grown and is

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 - (1 - 100-3-68) (CPUSA MEMBERSHIP)
 - (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- ⑦ - New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100-80641) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 100-131666) (CPUSA SOUTHERN REGION)
 - (1 - 100-) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
 - (1 - 100-153735) (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-21) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-128255) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)
- 1 - San Francisco (RM)
 - (65-1242) (MICKEY LIMA)
- 6 - Chicago (RM)
 - (1 - 100-33741) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 100-20289) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-16219) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-) [redacted]
- 1 - Cleveland (100-) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (100-) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - (1 - 100-28841) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-31723) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)
- 2 - Seattle (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 100-127) [redacted]
- 1 - Boston (100-20779) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (100-) (CPUSA ORGANIZATION) (RM)
- 2 - Miami [redacted]

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RLO:sll
(28)

100-153735-215

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 10 1966	
NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

MM 100-800

growing in the recent period. This was reflected in a number of speeches from Districts as to their activities and experiences. It was also shown in the quality of attendance. Of the approximately 100 people attending this meeting, roughly one-third could be judged as being under thirty years of age, most in their mid-twenties. Formerly, if five of the 100 were under fifty years old, it would have been exceptional. Also, in and around Party gatherings, offices and areas of activity, there was observable an ever-growing number of much younger people than the Party has been accustomed to seeing.

While some of this growth has taken place as a result of consistent and planned work in certain areas, a great deal of it has occurred where people just start out looking for the Party. MICKEY LIMA, in his speech to the National Committee, said he now has four applications in his pocket but does not know what to do with them. He does not want to place them in existing clubs where they will be soured and disillusioned but he has no new appropriate setup to accommodate an influx of new fresh people.

According to GUS HALL, the National Office continues to receive a large number of inquiries and requests for information and literature through the mail. He also said that many people are now speaking to him about joining the Party. He vaguely referred to an "important national mass leader in the civil rights movement, once with us but who left, but who has worked with us cooperatively in some national struggles," ^{who has} now asked about the advisability of his joining the Party." According to informant, a pure speculation on his part suggests that BAYARD RUSTIN might be the person HALL was speaking of as RUSTIN fits this category.

Some organizational advance may be expected also as for the first time in some years, there were held a number of specific organizational meetings and discussions and district quotas were firmly allocated and accepted.

In addition, some definite points of concentration have been selected. In Chicago, Illinois, which has limped along for so long with the ill, overburdened [redacted] plans are now under way to withdraw [redacted] from his Freiheit-Jewish work to become an open district functionary. Also,

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MM 100-800

[redacted] while continuing to operate the Party book store, will become an active Party district functionary. Also, [redacted] of Philadelphia is being transferred to Chicago to probably function as organizational secretary.

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Discussion was heard of plans to create several open Party headquarters in cities where they were long abandoned, and to have as many districts as possible have an "open communist spokesman." The cities of Chicago, Cleveland, Newark and Philadelphia were suggested as being among the first for this project.

According to Organizational Secretary [redacted] the Party has need of a great amount of people for many responsible positions in districts but cannot as yet find them. He mentioned that Seattle will now need an open spokesman as [redacted] is returning to work as a long-shoreman to take advantage of a favorable communist ruling recently by the Supreme Court, that an open leader is needed in Boston, and particularly in Atlanta and Birmingham, which are the two southern concentration points.

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File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

o45-16-53475-1 GPO

File 100 - 153735 2153 Date 5/20/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending

☒ Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date 5/20/77

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

NEW YORK - 9 - 6 PM 2-14-66 HL

2:53 PM EST URGENT 2-14-66 MRB/MSE

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON-ENCODED
FROM ATLANTA 141749

CIRM.

RE ATLANTA TELETYPE FEBRUARY TEN LAST, CAPTIONED AS ABOVE.

ON FEBRUARY ONE THREE, LAST, [REDACTED] ADVISED MEETING CONCERNING SCLC FUND RAISING MATTERS HELD FEBRUARY TEN LAST AS SCHEDULED AT SCLC HEADQUARTERS, ATLANTA. CLARENCE JONES, STANLEY LEVISON AND [REDACTED] ONLY THREE INDIVIDUALS PRESENT FROM OUT OF TOWN.

HARRY WACHTEL WAS MENTIONED DURING COURSE OF MEETING BUT NO REASON INDICATED FOR HIS ABSENCE. JONES AND LEVISON ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSION. JONES APPEARED TO HAVE COME TO MEETING WITH SEVERAL PREVIOUSLY FORMULATED SUGGESTIONS IN MIND AS TO HOW ADDITIONAL FUNDS COULD BE RAISED FOR SCLC THROUGH AMERICAN FOUNDATION ON NON-VIOLENCE. LEVISON GENERALLY OFFERED CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM PERTAINING TO VARIOUS THOUGHTS EXPRESSED DURING MEETING. MEETING RESULTED IN ADOPTION OF

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100-153735-2154

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FEB 14 1966	
FBI-NEW YORK	

Kurly

PAGE TWO

SEVERAL PROPOSALS AS TO HOW ADDITIONAL FINANCES WILL BE RAISED FOR SCLC INCLUDING ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF INDIVIDUALS IN TWO OR THREE FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

REGARDING WACHTEL, INFORMANT STATED SOME COMMENTS MADE DURING COURSE OF MEETING SUGGESTED TO HIM THE POSSIBILITY OF A PERSONALITY CLASH BETWEEN WACHTEL AND LEVISON.

FOREGOING INFORMATION OBTAINED DURING BRIEF TELEPHONIC CONTACT WITH INFORMANT EVENING OF FEBRUARY THIRTEEN LAST. INFORMANT'S PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AS OF THAT DATE PRECLUDED OPPORTUNITY FOR ANY DETAILED DISCUSSION.

AS INDICATED IN REFERENCED TELETYPE CONTACT OF [REDACTED] [REDACTED] IS CONTEMPLATED FOR FEBRUARY SIXTEEN NEXT AT WHICH TIME IT IS INTENDED FULL DETAILS OF THE AFOREMENTIONED MEETING WILL BE OBTAINED.

b7D

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY [REDACTED] [REDACTED] SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL BECAUSE THIS SOURCE OCCUPIES A SENSITIVE POSITION WITH SCLC AND DISSEMINATION OF

b7D

PAGE THREE

INFORMATION FURNISHED BY THIS SOURCE TO UNAUTHORIZED INDIVIDUALS COULD
REASONABLY RESULT IN JEOPARDIZING HIS SECURITY.

END

NY...MFR

FBI NEW YORK

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603-C43)(47)

Date: 2/8/66

FROM : SA ROBERT O. JOHNSON (47)

SUBJECT: CP, USA, NYD, KINGS COUNTY
IS-C

1 - New York [redacted]
1 - New York (100-128814)(CP, USA, NYD, ORGANIZATION)(42)
1 - New York (100-26603)(CP USA NYD)(42)
1 - New York (100-128314)(CP USA NYD FUNDS)(42)
1 - New York (97-169)(PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS)(42)
1 - New York (100-26603-C2049)(CP, USA, NYD, KC, PEACE CLUB)(47)
1 - New York (100-153735)(CIRM)(42)
1 - New York (100-154786)(VIDEM)(43)
1 - New York (100-128388)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-156488)(BREFN)(41)
1 - New York (100-16241)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-101936)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-138552)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-122440)(ENU LNU, [redacted] WHO WAS WITH [redacted]
[redacted] AND IS FROM THE BORO HALL CLUB [redacted]
1 - New York (100-79937)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-132462)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-44297)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-139166)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-67670)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-131135)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-147022)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-142489)[redacted]
1 - New York (100-26603-C43)(47)

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ROJ:tml

(23)

100-153735-2155
Searched..Indexed...
Serialized. Filed.

42 FEB 8 1966
FBI-NEW YORK

Seaton

108

NY 100-26603-C43

Identity of Source: [redacted]

Description of Info: Meeting of the Enlarged
Committee of the KCCP,
1/15/66.

b7D

Date Received: 1/19/66

Original Located: [redacted]

On 1/28/66, [redacted] identified a photo of [redacted]
[redacted] as the Unsub, WF with [redacted] and is from
the Boro Hall Club.

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A copy of informant's report follows:

1/19/66

On Saturday afternoon, 1/15/66, there was a meeting of the Enlarged Committee of the Kings County CP at the Bensonhurst Fraternal Center at 2018 85th St., Brooklyn, NY. The following were some of the people who were present at the meeting:

[redacted]

Unknown white female, short, who was with [redacted] and is from the Boro Hall Club.

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[redacted]

[redacted] acted as the Chairman of the Meeting. [redacted] gave the major talk. [redacted] gave an Organizational Report.

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[redacted] talk was mainly concerning the Transit Strike. There was a general discussion concerning the recent Transit Strike.

[redacted] gave the Organizational Report of the County. She stated that the 1965 Press Drive was \$6500 and the Fund Drive was \$6500 for the Kings County CP. She stated that the Press Drive for 1966 will remain at \$6500 but the Fund Drive will go up to \$7800. She stated that the extra \$1300 would be split up between the club and the county which would be 10% of the total for the club and 10% for the county. She stated that they want 1/3 of the Fund Drive in by 2/25/66 which is the anniversary of "The Worker".

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[redacted] passed out cards to representatives of different clubs present at this meeting. She gave a card to [redacted] for the Peace Club which reflects the following information concerning funds:

The 1965 Fund Drive goal was \$475.00; raised was \$285.85 and the 1966 goal is \$525.00. The Press Fund Drive 1965 goal was \$425; the amount raised \$111.10; and the 1966 goal is \$425.00.

There was also a big discussion concerning peace and peace organizations. Announcements were made concerning the following coming events:

2/12/66 - Civil Rights and Peace Demonstration

3/25 and 26/66 - Peace Demonstrations and Mass Rally at Yankee Stadium

2/17/66 - A meeting at Brooklyn Union Methodist Church at which [redacted] would be one of the speakers.

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2/19/66 - A Brooklyn Residents For Peace Now party

[redacted] announced that at least six clubs of the County were not represented at the meeting. He questioned as to whether they should continue holding these enlarged committee meetings or should go back to the regional meetings. The date was set for the next Enlarged County Meeting which is Saturday afternoon, 2/19/66. [redacted] stated that the other clubs not represented at this meeting should be contacted to make sure someone represents their club.

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[redacted] invited [redacted] to attend a Kings County CP Board Meeting on 1/27/66 at [redacted] apartment.

[redacted] gave [redacted] a slip of paper which was an invitation to a State Committee Meeting on 1/28 and 29/66 to be held at the Hotel Woodstock, NYC. The invitation reflects the name of the meeting as the NY Social Legislation League and the title of the meeting would be "Perspectives for 1966". It reflects that on Friday night, 1/28/66, at 7:00 p.m. there would be a keynote address in the Hudson Room and on Saturday, 1/29/66, starting at 9:30 a.m. in the Century Room there would be panel discussions and then they would report back to the full committee.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 2-9-66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated January 21, 25, and 26, 1966, containing information orally furnished by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, on January 21, 1966, to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and on January 25 and 26, 1966, to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE. This information was reduced to writing on February 1, 1966, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9515.

2-Bureau (Enc. 2)(RM)

3-Baltimore (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-10584

(1 - 100-12076

3-Boston (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-22939

(1 - 100-

(AL (LNU), W,M, age 23-24, brilliant science student from New England)

3-Cleveland (RM)

(1 - 100-

(1 - 65-721

(1 - 100-1207

WAB:MDW

(see page 11 for additional dissemination)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 11 1966	

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100-153735-2156

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

3-Detroit (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-8482

(1 - 100-

3-Los Angeles (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-4663

(1 - 100-4486

2-Miami (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100- (PATRICK TOOHEY)

3-Milwaukee (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-

(1 - 100-4

2-Minneapolis (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-

2-Newark (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100- (FNU)(LNU), N.M. youth from New Jersey, married
to daughter of

3-New Haven (RM)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100-

(1 - 100-

54-New York (RM)

(1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)

(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Attempts to Infiltrate Mass
Organizations)

(1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)

(1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA - Funds)

(1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)

(1 - 100-80636 (CP, USA - Legislative Matters)

(1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)

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(1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

(1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

(1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]

(1 - 100-24800

(1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)

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(109)

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January 21, 25, and 26, 1966

During the period January 15-17, 1966, there was held in the Laurelton Room located on the ground floor of the Hotel Wellington, 55th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City, New York, a meeting of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and invited guests under the guise of a "Political Perspective Conference." Among those observed in attendance were the following who, unless otherwise indicated, were observed in attendance on all three days of the meeting:

[REDACTED]
HERBERT APTHEKER

[REDACTED]
GIL GREEN

[REDACTED]
GUS HALL

[REDACTED]
JAMES JACKSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON

JACK KLING - not observed on January 15, 1966

[REDACTED]
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

[REDACTED]
MORRIS CHILDS

[REDACTED]
GEORGE MEYERS

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

[REDACTED]
CARL WINTER

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[REDACTED]
HENRY WINSTON
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
PAUL NOVICK

[REDACTED] not observed on January 15, 1966.

[REDACTED]
JOE BRANDT

[REDACTED] not observed on January 17, 1966
[REDACTED] - observed January 17, 1966, only

[REDACTED]
observed on January 17, 1966 only
EARL DURHAM - not observed on January 17, 1966

[REDACTED] observed on January 15, 1966 only
[REDACTED] - observed on January 15, 1966 only
[REDACTED] - observed on January 15, 1966 only
[REDACTED] not observed on January 17, 1966
[REDACTED] observed on January 16, 1966, only
[REDACTED] not observed on January 17, 1966

[REDACTED] observed on January 17, 1966 only

[REDACTED] - not observed on January 17, 1966
[REDACTED] observed on January 15, 1966 only
[REDACTED] - not observed on January 17, 1966
[REDACTED] - not observed on January 17, 1966
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First Session
January 15, 1966

Chairman - JAMES JACKSON

The meeting was opened by HENRY WINSTON who characterized this as a very serious meeting. He indicated that the main report which would be delivered by GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, would first be discussed by members of the National Committee after which others present might ask for the floor and their requests would be honored. WINSTON then called for a moment of silence in memory of deceased comrades, PETTIS PERRY, V. J. JEROME, JACK STACHEL, and BOB THOMPSON.

CP, USA, then made some announcements relating to procedure of the meeting. There were four main points to be covered: 1) The main report by GUS HALL on the "Political Situation and Tasks of the CP, USA;" 2) presentation of a draft political resolution for the Convention by HY LUMER. This would be followed by discussion until 5:30 p.m. on January 15, 1966, at which time it would be decided whether an evening session would be required; 3) the meeting would reconvene at 10:00 a.m. on Sunday, January 16, 1966, for continued discussion. The meeting would adjourn at 12:30 p.m. for lunch after which those present would repair to the Manhattan Center for a mass meeting featuring HERBERT APTHEKER and his companions on a trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam, which meeting was being held under the auspices of the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee; 4) on Sunday evening at 6:30 p.m. there would be a meeting in the National Office of the CP, USA to be attended by one member from each CP District to discuss dues, delegates to the next CP, USA Convention, and a financial drive for "The Worker."

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When the meeting reconvened on Monday morning, HERBERT APTHEKER would report on his Hanoi trip. HY LUMER would also discuss the Party program and these proceedings would be followed by an executive session of the National Committee.

The next speaker was GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, who delivered the main report to the National Committee which in essence was as follows:

The fact of this meeting is symbolic of the new status of our Party. This new status is symbolized by a number of recent developments such as the fact that BURT NELSON must actually leave this meeting early in order to be back on the job on the Seattle waterfront as a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, having defeated the effort to bar him from employment because of his political beliefs. HERB APTHEKER had to rush back here from Hanoi in order to make this meeting. AL RICHMOND and MIKE ZAGARELL are getting ready to go to Rome for the Congress of the Italian Party. Others, such as FRED BLAIR and TOMMY DENNIS, are just back from a trip to Moscow in time to make this meeting of the National Committee.

There are two problems which are before this meeting. The first of these will be to make the final plans for the public release of our Party program. We are already receiving orders for it. The second problem will be to make the final decisions for the calling of our National Convention.

So, you can see, we are stepping out on the political scene. Also, these events are symbolic of a challenge to our leadership. Whatever we do is not pre-determined; we can grasp this movement or we can lose the opportunity. In fact, the political tide can roll us back if we are not ready. But I am confident that we will meet this challenge.

Today we face a threefold task: 1) to bring our Party up to date; 2) to assess the new mass development; and, 3) to determine the steps necessary to meet the challenge of the moment. I will not repeat at this meeting the conclusions of past reports. Our purpose is to open up new perspectives and give direction to our Party.

U.S. imperialist aggression is the pivotal fact of the world situation today. It affects everything. The ugly American is getting uglier. The cry "Yankee go home" is getting louder. The U.S. is becoming more isolated than ever. The U.S. is trying to get world support for its policy but is failing. U.S. imperialism is suffering defeats all along the line while the anti-imperialists are advancing and are invincible.

However, these very frustrations of U.S. imperialism lead to dangers. They lead to new confrontations and resulting dangers. But just like mine fields, such confrontations have hazards but cannot stop the advance of peoples.

In a historic sense, U.S. imperialism is continuing to make a historic miscalculation on the direction of history and the relation of forces in the world. U.S. imperialism has misjudged the people's liberation movement by underestimating it. The U.S. thought that the liberation movement is but "temporary" and could be drowned in blood. U.S. imperialism has also misjudged the power of the socialist world. They miscalculated it in Vietnam. They miscalculated it in the Dominican invasion. U.S. imperialists thought a "few Marines" would do it, but this was wishful thinking. This was the same mistake as was made in the Bay of Pigs invasion. U.S. imperialism drew wrong conclusions from the overthrow of the Guatemalan Government. Actually, U.S. imperialism really thinks it can be a world policeman.

As a matter of fact, not a single country in NATO, SEATO, or CENTO, etc., really supports U.S. imperialism even in the capitalist world. Here is another instance where the U.S. misjudged. These other powers are not taking part in the U.S. imperialist aggression and this will lead to disaster for the U.S. Also, U.S. imperialism did not properly judge the temper of the people of the U.S.--its computers were wrong. The people voted for peace against racism but JOHNSON thought the "consensus" shell game would work. But no political force can underestimate the fact that the people in motion in the U.S. peace movement are a larger group than those who favor war. The dilemma produced by JOHNSON's miscalculation has prompted the current "peace campaign."

The U.S. must agree to end its aggression in Vietnam and deal with the victims of aggression--the National Liberation Front. So far, however, there are no signs that the U.S. is ready to change its course. U.S. aggression is trying to take in peace what it cannot get in war, but this, too, will fail.

But we must not be one-sided in our assessment. We must also consider the activities of the UN, of the Vatican, of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and of the Julian Bond movement. There is a growing awareness that the U.S. miscalculation is leading to disaster. Even the politicians see this. The U.S. cannot long continue this policy of aggressive involvement. Already some want to compromise and the U.S. had to consider the effect the bombings are having on world opinion. Under the cover of "seeking peace" the U.S. may really escalate the war and step up the bombings. It is no secret that the Pentagon is going to use even more lethal gases. This is shocking but the people are becoming more aware.

We must realize that at some point in this struggle we will have to take a stand and give support to those forces of U.S. imperialism who will want to negotiate and end the war. The ultra-right will raise their voices to try to stop this. We must be prepared. If we now take the position that we are against negotiation on principle, then when representatives of U.S. imperialism are ready for retreat and negotiations, we will find ourselves supporting the ultra-right.

Some of our youth suffer from the disease of the "revolutionary phrase" as Lenin said. Our "silence" has helped the ultra-rightwarhawk crowd during these weeks of the bombing pause. Instead, we should be mobilizing the peace movement. The peace forces of the world will turn back imperialist aggression. The question is how much are we prepared to sacrifice and when. It is clear that U.S. imperialism is guilty of premeditated aggression.

The example of the negotiations carried out in Tashkent provides the contrast to the U.S. imperialist aggression. Policy of the USSR is entirely correct. Starting from the viewpoint of uniting the forces of anti-imperialism, the USSR is able to play this role of mediator because the USSR follows in practice the theory of equality of nations. Also, the USSR has understood the two processes of peace and liberation. These two "new nations" understood this position of the USSR.

The processes of the world Marxist movement have a bearing on the struggle against imperialism. Last year most of the Parties of the world were in confusion but this has now ended. These Parties are now drawing the lessons they previously did not recognize. This will lead to a broader offensive against U.S. imperialism. This is showing itself at the Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana. The forces of dissension are being isolated and later we will also have more light shed on the situation in Algeria, Indonesia, etc.

Turning now to our domestic situation, it can be seen that the aggression in Vietnam casts its shadow upon the U.S. economy. It is the shadow of inflation, war profits, increased taxes, the scuttling of public works, etc. The shadow of aggression is also influencing the 1966 elections. The politicians are demanding sacrifices from the people, both economic and constitutional. Cuts in the Appalachia aid program are the first result. It is a fraud to say that we can have both guns and butter. The question is how do we cut corporation profits. The GOP is using this war to demand a cut

in the living standards of the people. A vigorous fight is necessary against price increase, higher taxes, etc., and we must organize the people on these economic questions. New initiative and organization are needed.

In regard to the President's State of the Union address, it was a speech of frustration and indecision and yet it was full of demagoguery. However, there are a few "political handles" that can be used. Last year JOHNSON spoke about increased trade with socialist countries. But he did nothing about it. Since the last meeting of the National Committee, the peace movement has advanced on a broad base. People now see that the source of aggression is here in the U.S. There have been demonstrations in New York. The youth have been the spearhead of demonstrations in Berkeley. Many ads have appeared in the newspapers. The teachers sponsored such an ad and have money for two more ads. Women Strike for Peace had such an ad. A new element is the peace movement in the Catholic Church. MARTIN LUTHER KING has launched a campaign for peace. Jewish leaders have issued a statement calling for peace.

The Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam is a good example of this broad movement. When STAUGHTON LYND asked HERB APTHEKER what makes men struggle, he was expressing the thoughts of millions of Americans. Anti-imperialist education is the task of our Party, but we have been lagging. The Ad Hoc Committee is not this anti-imperialist organization. We need trade union committees for peace throughout the country. The New York trade union committee is a good example.

Let us look at some specific problems and decisions. We must make a sharp break with past practices. Our emphasis must be on the working class and trade unions. The future of progress in the peace movement, in civil rights, and among youth, depends on how the working class will react to events. The working class determines how far social events will go and their final content. The new factor making the working class role possible is related to the victories we have won against the Taft-Hartley Law, the Landrum-Griffin Act, and the McCarran Act. BURT NELSON's victory is symbolic of these victories. These release the trade unions from the bonds of reaction. These laws were enacted to stop militants and communists. Now, trade unions can elect a communist to office again.

Our attitude on these events is important. Our Party, too, has been influenced by the middle class ideology. If we

underestimate the role of trade unions and the working class, we will be out on our ear. Remember, that not all trade union leaders are "fakers." Our task is to convince the workers that their organizations can play a leading role. They must be convinced that we are not out to take over trade unions on any level. We are just educators and members of the working class.

Despite today's industrial boom, there is still a class confrontation. Creeping automation continues and job security is uncertain. This fact is at the base of every sharp labor struggle. The military draft and the war boom temporarily eases these problems, but they will become more critical in time. You cannot sweep the technological employment problem under the economic rug. The New York transportation workers' strike has exposed how close the nerve is to the surface. The "veneer" of "no class" went up in smoke in the so-called negotiations at the Hotel Americana. The right to strike and the right to revolution are connected: they just can't be given to labor. President JOHNSON seemed to call for the abolition of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Law and for compulsory arbitration. The right to strike would be replaced by compulsory arbitration. Government intervention in labor disputes and the so-called Presidential "guidelines" have effectively blocked low-paid workers from gaining their demands. There are no government guidelines to control profits. There is no government policy to prevent layoffs. Such a policy will be gained only through struggle. This idea of the "third Party" role of the government hurts the poorly organized.

The steel strike settlement provides a dangerous pattern of state monopoly capitalism by government edict. Injunctions, fines, etc., are the dangerous anti-labor tools of today. Government policing of labor will sap trade unions of their strength. Trade unions will lose their independence and become captive unions unless such actions are stopped. These actions are disastrous for labor. When these rights are taken away from unions as a wartime measure, they are rarely returned except through struggles. If "the public interest" opposes higher wages, we must expose the so-called "public interest" as anti-labor. If we can get the government to intervene on the side of labor, that is in the interest of our working class. If government intervention is anti-labor, then we are against it. This is not contradictory to Marxism.

We must take working class unity as our starting point. This is a political long term concept. It embraces: 1) unity in

existing trade unions; 2) unity of Negro and white trade unionists; and, 3) organization of the unorganized. There is no need to argue with you for the need to bring the Teamsters, the miners, and the railroad workers into the AFL-CIO. If this happens, there will occur a qualitative change in the AFL-CIO on all levels. There is a movement in this direction now. The push for trade union unity must include the need for labor solidarity. The press was angrier about the unity of labor behind the transit strike than it was about the strike itself.

The question of Negro-white solidarity affects trade unions and the class struggle. We are equipped to give the ideological lead on this front. We must raise the level of thinking among the rank and file of the trade unions. This is not a problem beyond solution. Democracy in trade unions demands the elections of communists and progressives at least on the lower levels. We have unique qualifications for this ideological struggle to erase white chauvinism and to develop the class consciousness. The organization of the unorganized is a key question of this unity--especially in the South. There is a need to mobilize the rank and file in the unions for this fight. We will help to organize it.

Why this emphasis on the rank and file? This is because: 1) without unity we cannot meet the effects of automation; 2) the rank and file is a political force; 3) the working class cannot build alliances of Negro and whites without the unity of the rank and file; and, 4) without unity, the working class cannot be the leading class. This unity of the rank and file will give us the necessary leverage to move our class.

There is one other weakness which I have isolated here for special emphasis. I am referring to the Keany-Loveston axis which is a part of U.S. imperialist aggression. They are not "misled"--they are misleading others. They are willing tools and an arm of CIA. They prove the truth of the John L. Lewis argument that no member of a corporation can be a member of labor. The Keany-Loveston axis has given lip service to civil rights, but it is only lip service.

The change in the leadership of some unions is an expression of the rank and file. The United Steel Workers elected I. W. ABEL because he was against becoming a tuxedo union. The question is not whether "to blast" or "not to blast" trade union leadership, but which union leadership should be attacked. How we do it is another question. We must do it in a way that will cause concern among rank and file members for their unions. We must not get into a situation

where we sound like those who belong to corporations. We can be effective if we, ourselves, are involved in the solution of working class problems. We must be concrete on policy and leaders and we must have alternatives. We can use resolutions and guides to action and what may be demagoguery for them can be tools for us. If we are to be effective, we must work in this concrete way. Honest trade union leaders will welcome our support and organization if we prove that our efforts are not aimed against them.

There must be a change in the life of trade union locals. If this is not possible, then we can try other forms of struggle. For example, in DAVE DUBINSKY's union (ILGWU) we must get a voice for the Negro and the Puerto Rican workers. There is a left sector in trade unions and we must find expressions for this sector or forms of expression. CP members must become active in the trade unions. New ways for our activity will have to be found. This can be through shop papers, shop gate distributions, etc. Unless Party members are convinced that we have a unique contribution to make in trade unions, then the trade unionists will not make this shift. This will not be easy.

There is a crisis in the big cities. For some it means slums, subways, dirt, etc. For us it means the demand of the working class, both Negro and white, for influence and power.

An examination of the explosion in Watts exposed the generations of poverty, exploitation and Jim Crowism. The Watts explosion exposed the meaninglessness of the anti-poverty program. It exposed how far removed from the ghetto are the political Parties, including ours. In order to have meaning, the civil rights victories of the last few years must break through the economic barriers. It is basic that the roots of discrimination are in economics. We are now at the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle, both allied against the profit structure.

New laws are not the solution to this problem. The Department of Justice and their "test cases" are but camouflage for inaction. How long will this go on? The federal government does nothing to stop the murderers and torturers in the South. Attorney General KATZENBACH only says "That's how things are." We must stop the terror against the civil rights movement and the Negro people in the South. If this is not done, then the same terror will be unleashed against the trade unions in the South. The unseating of JULIAN BOND from the Georgia Legislature shows how thin is the veneer of capitalist democracy. The

struggle has now been joined: on the one hand are civil rights and democracy against an aggressive, dirty war; on the other hand is just the opposite, Jim Crow, oppression, and war.

Some general guidelines can be formed for the 1966 elections. The tactics of 1964 still apply but the relation of forces has changed and, therefore, there must be some new tactics with emphasis on local action. There is a feeling among the people that the JOHNSON Administration has broken its promises on foreign policy and there is a general suspicion regarding the Administration that it is dealing from the bottom of the deck. If the progressives can be taken for granted, then they will lose their political influence. If the progressives go it alone they become isolated. But in coalition within Democratic primaries, progressives can play a very important role. This is because there are politicians looking for ways and means to separate themselves from the Administration. Therefore, independent forms are the order of the day even if we use the old Parties. We should initiate movements that separate the people and candidates from the Party machine. Thus, new forms will be utilized side by side with old forms.

Our outlook in many areas should be toward winning the elections with peace candidates and civil rights candidates. The people are looking forward to our having candidates. We must do so now and announce these candidates now. If we have to withdraw them, we can do so later. We still have legal problems but we are in a different situation than in the past. While we have won many rights, we still have the McCarran Act cases which can be won only by struggle. Unquestionably, the Supreme Court decision in our favor is a reflection of political reality. It is a breakthrough against red-baiting. It opens doors previously closed against us. In the past, we have looked for hidden meanings under the welcome mats put out by those mass organizations in which we were accepted and yet we still follow the old paths. We should follow the example set by ARNOLD JOHNSON and JIM WEST and others who are actively working in the peace movement. This acceptance of communists in these organizations makes for a new atmosphere in which to work.

A most important event was our announcement over radio, television, and in the press of the vindication in the courts of the position of the CP and the announcement of the issuing of our program. This is really our first pre-convention document for public discussion. But where are the mass agencies in which we are in the leadership? What we need are "handles" or "forms" to lead these movements for peace, civil rights, etc. Initiative is what we need. Initiative!

We need to take a look at our mass propaganda activity. Are we a part of the continuing dialogue? Are we a part of movements, moods, etc.? The mood is important. Do we inspire those who just became aware of life and struggle? I pose these questions in the form of self-criticism. Our "new freedom" should be reflected in our press and literature. We must provide help to revamp our papers and distribution. We must project ourselves outward as a legal press must do.

As J. EDGAR HOOVER has already announced, there has been some growth in the CP--but it is not enough, in our opinion. We are still afraid of people. We seem to only want to recruit "communists," not those who want to join. Perhaps my campaign against smoking may be a bar to recruitment. Let's just teach Marxism and after that the harmfulness of smoking. This must become a period of reconstitution, the rehabilitation of our Party. It must be a reconstruction of our Party. Committees at all levels must be refreshed. We must have spokesmen in all areas. We must also raise the question of the struggle against white chauvinism. Struggle must be ideological and must be part of our convention. The convention must reflect politics and all that goes with it. It must be a political demonstration--a free unfettered discussion. We want to debate.

Following HALL's report, the first speaker in the discussion was [redacted]. After expressing agreement with HALL's report, he suggested that the section of HALL's report relating to the working class should be published separately in some form and receive separate circulation. [redacted] then made some brief remarks also in agreement with HALL's report. Then JIM WEST spoke in agreement with HALL's report and concerning developments in Chicago, Illinois. [redacted] also spoke in favor of the approach in HALL's report.

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GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker who gave particular emphasis to conditions in the South. He stated that in order to get some idea of the magnitude of the murder of the Negro people in the South, you would have to multiply the newspaper stories on the Southern terror by a few hundred. He charged that President JOHNSON does nothing about enforcing the federal laws in the South and that Attorney General KATZENBACH and others in the Justice Department are just twiddling their thumbs. Although segregation is in full bloom in the South, no federal funds have been withdrawn from the South. After citing a number of examples of Negro-white unity in the South, MEYERS charged that the military draft is being used to get SNCC workers into the Army, thus hampering the Negro freedom movement in the South.

GEORGE MORRIS then spoke and he also agreed with HALL's report. MORRIS stated that the forces of the JOHNSON Administration had converged on the last AFL-CIO Convention in order to get them to counteract the statements of the pro-peace movement. This had included Cabinet members DEAN RUSK and WILLARD WIRTZ and Vice President HUMPHREY. According to MORRIS, the base for peace in the labor movement is tremendous.

To conclude the discussion of the first day's session, there were brief remarks by JIM JACKSON. [REDACTED]

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Second Session
January 16, 1966

Chairman - DOROTHY HEALEY

At this session the discussion of GUS HALL's main report continued with brief remarks by WILLIAM PATTERSON, MICKEY LIMA, IRVING POTASH, and JOE BRANDT.

Next, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke and stated in essence as follows: I am in complete agreement with GUS HALL's excellent report, especially with the emphasis on the working class. The civil rights movement has reached a point where unless the organized labor movement gives it its full support, this movement will be stymied. This support is necessary for economic and political demands, for without the support of the labor movement, these demands are not realizable. In order to further its own aims, the civil rights movement requires that changes take place in the labor movement. We must work out ways and means to free the labor movement which is now a prisoner of the Democratic Party. But the big problem is how to achieve this. No President calling himself a friend of labor was ever so critical about a strike as JOHNSON was of the New York transit workers strike settlement. President JOHNSON's promise to repeal Section 14b. of the Taft-Hartley Law is pure demagoguery. In all of last year's legislation, there was nothing for labor--no repeal of 14b.; no increased minimum wage law. The reason for this is that labor took things for granted, counting upon JOHNSON as their friend, and did not mobilize the working man. The role of the Party is to urge the people to struggle, to draw lessons for the working class, and to bring these lessons to them. In New York

and in California Negroes are going to be placed on the ballots of both large Parties for state-wide office. This can be done in all states. We should begin to work on this from the grass-roots and in so doing try to involve the labor movement.

After comments by [REDACTED] PAUL NOVICK spoke. NOVICK emphasized the fact that there are a lot of Nazi collaborators and murderers living in the United States. He mentioned some names and places where these Nazi collaborators live and receive the protection of the United States Government. He urged that the Party popularize a pamphlet called "The Price of Silence" by CHAIM SULLER.

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The next speaker was HY LUMER who is Educational Director and Editor of "Political Affairs" and a member of the National Board. LUMER introduced the subject of the draft political resolution for the convention, a copy of which had been distributed to all those in attendance at the National Committee meeting as they had entered that session.

LUMER stated in essence as follows:

The draft document before you was prepared so that you can further elaborate upon it and later with your additions can be given to the Party for its pre-convention discussion. This draft was discussed at the National Board the other day and we agreed to issue it. Some comrades ask why do we need a general resolution, especially since we are presenting a Party program? And, some say, why not specific resolutions on this or that subject? First, it is necessary to remember that a general political resolution is customary in the Party to be introduced at Party conventions. This has been our practice ever since we have recorded minutes. The need for this resolution grows out of the basic features of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Our Party, the CP, USA, is an organization based on the scientific theory of society known as Marxism-Leninism. Our policies do not consist of fragments. For this reason, it is necessary at the time of a convention to examine what is the state of affairs in our country, in the international world movement, the relation of classes and relation of movements to each other. And on the basis of this examination, to draw conclusions. This is the function and purpose of a general resolution such as you have before you. The fact that we are publishing the program has complicated this problem. Yet, this second major document is not superfluous. Our program

does not negate the resolution. At the October, 1965, National Board meeting, GUS said that a resolution is different than a program. Parenthetically, he said, a program is only a broad outline. Resolutions deal with specific present situations. Comrade GUS HALL's report at this meeting dovetails with the resolution. Some comrades felt that since the program will deal with some underlying problems, a briefer draft resolution was needed. In our opinion, this draft resolution is not big. The way it is presented, it is numbered, and the problems are dealt with in a thesis form. This draft was subjected to sharp criticism at the National Board and some changes were suggested. Our last convention in December, 1959, correctly noted the change in the relation of forces on a world scale. Since then these changes have proceeded further in the world and in the U.S. The aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism is also greater. This shows the dialectical conflict and the back-drop for our policies as GUS indicated, and as you will see in the resolution, because it is different than the resolution we adopted in 1959. Yet, we emphasize that the war in Vietnam should not detract from the menace of West German imperialism and the danger of war in Europe. The economic situation in our country points to growing struggles.

In the criticisms offered of the resolution at the National Board meeting, inadequacies in our economic analysis were pointed out. Some said that:

- 1) The resolution does not show movement of people for economic demands nor does it dramatize the events.
- 2) Regarding the civil rights movement, the draft resolution does not clearly enough show the victories attained.
- 3) The resolution does not go far enough regarding the gains of our Party.
- 4) The resolution is not sufficiently a guide to action. It deals with problems too much in summary sections.
- 5) The resolution, some comrades said, does not deal enough with monopoly capitalism.
- 6) More elaboration is needed on the struggle against the ultra-right. There are some imperfections in our policies in connection with the struggle against the reactionary ultra-right, although our policies are generally correct.

7) Some said we left out the international developments in the communist movement. We left out the problem of the terror against the civil rights movement and the Negroes in the South. We left out the Puerto Rican problem, the Mexican-Americans, etc. Also, some comrades are critical of the inadequacies of formulations.

We, therefore, agreed at the National Board to some amendments on page 13 on our position to the organized labor movement and the communist work in the trade unions, we will say it would be wrong to regard all labor leaders as one monolithic reactionary mass. Moreover, the rank and file is discontented and for this reason we have to put more emphasis on the question of leadership and rank and file, without using the wide brush. Some problems have been created by the existence of our new program, and, of course, time. It is seven years since our last Party convention. Nevertheless, the National Board proposes a more comprehensive general political resolution. Therefore, our proposal is that this meeting suggest: 1) that the Secretariat prepares the final draft of this resolution; and, 2) that the timing of the release of this draft resolution should take place sometime after we get an initial reaction to the Party program.

Following LUMER's report, [] then made some announcements after which this session was adjourned in order that those present might attend the mass meeting previously mentioned which was scheduled to begin at 2:00 p.m. that day.

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Third Session
January 17, 1966

Chairman - PHIL BART

There was a small change in the agenda announced by []. He announced that since half of the audience had left due to the fact that they had to go to work, there would be no executive session of the National Committee. The first speaker was supposed to be DOROTHY HEALEY but she was sick and therefore did not arrive until several hours later. This session continued with a discussion of GUS HALL's report and of the draft political resolution introduced on the preceding day by HY LUMER. There were brief remarks by [] following which GIL GREEN spoke in essence as follows:

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I am in complete agreement with GUS HALL's report. I am happy to see this because in the past I was not always in agreement. His report means that 1966 is the year of change. This is the year when things must be done. They must be done now, this year, or they will not be done at all. This must be a year of the "big leap." To accomplish this, we need an ideological shake-up of the Party. Next, we must analyze if we are in a period of ebb or flow. Those comrades who compare the present period with the period of the Korean War are completely wrong. At the time of the Korean War in the 1950's, the progressives were defeated. Today, during the war of Vietnam, the reactionaries are on the defensive which is quite a contrast.

I agree with GUS HALL that we need the youth; of course, we do. But let me give you an example. Keep in mind that A. J. MUSTE is 81 years old, but he is not considered "old." The fact is, it is the work one does that counts. There should be more emphasis on the self-activity of the masses. This is more important than the statements of leaders.

I want to emphasize that there is a left revival in our country. There is a new left. Some comrades oppose the concept of the left. They counterpose this by saying that we need a broader movement, but I want to say that if we want to broaden the movement, we need the left. As the movement broadens, it changes this left. You will recall that last April MUSTE criticized the demonstration in Washington, but MUSTE has changed since April 17th. Yesterday, at the Manhattan Center, at the mass meeting on Vietnam, our spokesman, HERBERT APTHEKER, appeared openly with MUSTE seated on the same stage. When a movement goes forward, even the anti-communists will go along. Therefore, I would emphasize that the unity of the left is most important. The left can serve as a magnet to attract others. The Manhattan Center mass meeting would not have been so large if only HERBERT APTHEKER was the speaker.

Unless we have a left, we cannot build the Party. I repeat, ideology is most important. We cannot be mere technicians. We must give basic answers to the people. We must point to the forces that will make the changes in our society. We must not only name the present system, but we must also indicate the future system, that is, socialism.

GIL GREEN's remarks were followed by a brief statement by [redacted] Following [redacted] a young man named [redacted] from New England, who is 23-24 years old and a brilliant science student, spoke. He took issue with the documents

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previously discussed. He said that the trouble with the Party and its documents is that the Party behaves as if they are registrars of history, with too much recording of events and very little actually basically appraised and acted upon. Then he criticized the articles that have been appearing in "Political Affairs" because they are too objective and the political resolution which was introduced, he said, lacks "zip." He also stated that the political resolution misses the alternative before the people which is the alternative of capitalism: socialism.

Following this, remarks were made by DOROTHY HEALEY, [redacted] PAT TOOHEY, [redacted] from Philadelphia, [redacted] and [redacted] Then [redacted] [redacted] presently living in Czechoslovakia, made a rousing speech about how leaflets and pamphlets had been distributed and what they had done at the Manhattan Center. He stated that everything was passive until the Party group arrived. The leaflet they distributed concerned BETTINA APTHEKER's statements on why she joined the CP, USA.

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The next speaker was HENRY WINSTON. WINSTON started off with a response to the question of whether the Party is in a period of ebb or flow. WINSTON stated in essence as follows:

I say we are in a period of flow and GUS HALL's report reflects this. GUS outlined the steps necessary to make this flow grow into a mighty torrent. GUS further showed us how to extend the labor movement, how to broaden the peace movement and the forces of the peace movement, the civil rights movement, etc., into a mighty united force, to compel the reversal of the JOHNSON Administration's war policy.

When I was in Chile attending the Party convention there, I was told that this is the first time that a U.S. communist was present at a Latin American convention. The communists in Latin America know GUS HALL, his work, and how we carry on a struggle against U.S. imperialism. The Latin American communists further told me how new colonialism is brought into Latin America via the U.S. labor bureaucracy of George Meany and Jay Lovestone. Is it possible to fight against the policies of the JOHNSON Administration without

opposing MEANY and LOVESTONE? I would say no. Therefore, we need to fight the labor bureaucracy since they do not really represent labor, nor do they speak for organized labor.

There is still a great deal of white chauvinism in the trade union movement and this bureaucracy is not fighting it. It is this chauvinism that endangers the growth of the trade union movement in the South and also endangers the civil rights movement. We cannot act as a moving force in all movements, but remain passive in the trade union movement.

Of course, while we play our role and use initiative and attack the bureaucracy, we should try to avoid sectarianism; that is, isolate ourselves from the masses. GUS posed the question of building shop clubs of the Party and industry clubs. We should start to do this immediately and we can say that with a little more activity we are ready for a breakthrough. In all our struggles we must wage a campaign against white chauvinism. STOKES, who was a candidate for Mayor in Cleveland, lost the Cleveland mayoralty by 2,500 votes. I would say that these votes were probably stolen, but we don't have the facts. Stolen or not, the organized labor movement leadership opposed STOKES. I am sorry to say there were some white communists who opposed STOKES. I call that white chauvinism. By the way, the same thing happened in Miami, Florida, where a couple of white comrades can be blamed for the defeat of a Negro candidate by a few votes. This white chauvinism probably exists elsewhere in our Party. We must eradicate this and we must fight for the unity of black and white, particularly in the trade union movement.

The next speaker was [redacted] who made a motion to endorse GUS HALL's report and this motion was carried unanimously. He also moved to endorse HY LUMER's report on the draft political resolution and this motion also carried unanimously. The latter motion authorized the Secretariat of the CP, USA to complete the resolution, finalize it, and give it to the membership. The date of its publication was left to the discretion of the Secretariat although it was agreed that the draft program would be given to the membership first and this, it is believed, will be available about the middle of February, 1966.

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Fourth Session
Afternoon, January 17, 1966

Chairman - ROSCOE PROCTOR

The first speaker was HERBERT APTHEKER who delivered a report on his recent trip to Vietnam. APTHEKER stated in essence as follows:

This was a good trip to Vietnam. I am now being called the "Hanoi kid." My wife kids me about this, too. The Party in Vietnam was delighted to have a representative from our Party, the CP, USA. We established the closest fraternal relations with them and steps have been undertaken to assure this relationship.

I here want to report that in Vietnam the unity of the people is great. The masses of people are armed. Everyone carries a weapon of one kind or another. While I was in Hanoi, the New York "Herald Tribune" phoned me and asked if there was excitement in Hanoi. I answered no, there is no excitement there, everything seems to be calm. Then they asked me was there any animosity towards white Americans, and I answered no, on the contrary, the communists, through their Party, fostered internationalism, and they say that they are not at war with the U.S. or its people. They even say, or admit, that they will not defeat the U.S. They just want to get rid of the military occupation. When the Vietnamese talk of a military defeat of the U.S., they only have this in mind, the evacuation of the American troops, not the actual defeat of these troops.

The Vietnamese are a nationalist-minded people. They want good relations with all neighbors. They were invaded many times in the past; they are therefore opposed to invasions. In ancient days, after centuries of struggles, they defeated the Chinese invaders, and they constructed special ships outfitted in regal style and then shipped the generals home to China on these special ships in order to let the Chinese save face. Independence of the Vietnamese means independence for North and South. They have been one country for 5,000 years. The official boundary has no meaning to them.

The Prime Minister of North Vietnam conveyed to me his joy at the presence of a representative of the American communists and other peace-loving representatives. The General Secretary of the Party talked to us about the peace movement in the U.S. He was greatly appreciative of this movement. They are not concerned about what slogans we use. In fact, the General Secretary of the Party pointed out that the slogans that the Vietnamese use in Saigon itself are no better, no more advanced than the slogans we use in the U.S. For example, if the communists in Saigon or the National Liberation Front in

Saigon, or any other movement, want a change of government, or demand resignation of this or that official, that is considered important too. The only thing they are concerned with is the existence of a peace movement in every country.

I did not see HO Chi-minh. Uncle HO was out visiting the villages. This is the tradition because of the Lunar New Year. He not only meets with the villagers in general but meets with families, for this, too, is in tradition.

The Vietnamese are very cordial people. They are very polite. When they speak, they rarely speak above a whisper, they do not shout. We had a meeting with one of the leaders of the National Liberation Front. This person did speak in a louder voice but later one of these leaders apologized to us for his tone of voice and said that he is nervous, that some of his other comrades were undoubtedly suffering from combat fatigue, etc.

The Vietnamese are overjoyed because of our fraternal relations. The Party in Vietnam, I found out, is a very broad organization. It is really a multi-party organization, even if it is organized into one Party. For in the ranks and in the leadership, they not only have communists and Marxist-Leninists, but Catholics and Buddhists. The Vietnamese Party shows a great devotion to the resolutions adopted by the conferences of the world CPs in 1957 and 1960. The Vietnamese pay homage to the socialist fraternal Parties and the states and to all CPs in the capitalist world and they thank all these governments and Parties for their help.

At this point in APTHEKER's report, some questions were asked. APTHEKER was asked what about the charges that the Chinese are holding up and hindering the flow of Soviet material aid to Vietnam? What about the slogan on negotiations, what did the Vietnamese say about this?

APTHEKER replied: There is no discussion of the split in the international movement in Vietnam. They can be silent about their problem. Although on the streets of Hanoi or wherever you go, 90% of the vehicles are Soviet made, 65% of the machinery in the factories comes from the Soviet Union, and another good percentage comes from Czechoslovakia. Obviously, they are getting some help and they showed their appreciation. When the Vietnamese say they defeated the U.S. militarily on the ground, they do say that this is due to the help that they received from the USSR. They do not discuss this problem of getting equipment through. We asked them but they would not discuss it.

Now, on the slogans regarding negotiations, I repeat, they told us to use anything that will involve people. They said, "We don't care what kind of a slogan it is. Do not ape us, or repeat our slogans; what is good for us, may not be good for you," and I repeat, they said that if in Saigon they say, "Down with the Premier," or sometimes they say, "Down with U.S. imperialism," as far as the North Vietnamese and the communists are concerned, that is OK with them.

The Prime Minister of North Vietnam categorically said that there are no VDR troops in the South. That the story about the presence of troops from the North is a pure fabrication.

Now, I must tell you a little something about the bombing of North Vietnam. The bombing of North Vietnam was no joke. It was a very serious matter. We saw the damage and we saw that the bombing was indiscriminate and it hit all sections of the population, not only bridges, railroads, factories, etc. We saw pagodas, schools, hospitals and homes destroyed by American bombs. Not only did they drop bombs, but the U.S. used phosphorous bombs and people will testify that we never used these bombs in World War II but the U.S. was using phosphorous bombs in North Vietnam. But now, he said, the U.S. is not using phosphorous bombs and this may be due to the pressure of world opinion exposing the barbarous methods of the U.S. Let us not underestimate the fact of the stopping of the bombing. Our slogan should be, "The bombing should not be resumed." At a banquet held the other night by the SANE, GOTTLEIB, Congressman RYAN, and Senator MC GOVERN, Dr. SPOCK, and NORMAN THOMAS said the same thing: the bombing should stop. When the bombing stops, it paves the road for further discussion and prevents the expanding of the war.

Then APTEKER said he was interviewed by the "New York Times" magazine and that the article will appear any week now; that he was on the Columbia Broadcasting radio network on the West Coast for an hour; that there are plans and negotiations now for him and the delegation to reach out across the country. Then he said he wrote nine articles for "The Worker." APTEKER mentioned how he tried to get the articles to New York while in Hanoi, that he had even phoned Moscow to talk to ESTHER SHIELDS. He said that when the people organized meetings in other cities, that they should try to invite all three, or at least two of them together.

The next speaker was HY LUMER who discussed the new Party program. The essence of the information given out by LUMER is as follows:

After a great deal of labor, the program is at the printers and we will be ready to launch it formally on the 15th of February although we may have some copies a little earlier. We are still working on a plan for distribution. The title is "New Program, CPUSA," with subtitle "A Draft." It will sell for \$.95 but will be available to Party organizations for \$.25 to \$.35. A goal of 50,000 copies for the first edition of the paperbook is our aim. We are also trying to print it in serial form in "The Worker." That is now only under consideration.

The plan for the introduction of the program is as follows:

1) Will issue a national press release for all papers at time of launching.

2) Preparations are underway to send review copies to all newspapers, magazines, commentators on radio and television.

3) Will call a press conference in New York with GUS HALL as the main speaker.

4) Local press conferences with national leaders participating should be organized.

5) Steps are being undertaken for radio and television appearances.

6) An extensive advertising campaign is being prepared.

7) Public meetings in all districts of the Party should be called for the launching of this program.

8) Promotional pieces of literature for mailing to libraries, universities, professors, colleges, etc., will be sent out, with a request for orders.

9) A widespread campaign will be launched to get the program into as many bookstores as possible.

The proposal for distribution will take place through "New Outlook" and all orders for the program should be placed with "New Outlook."

1) We should aim to get copies to all Party members and all members should take at least five copies of the program and we will advertise this in the following way: "5 for 4" which means: buy 5 for the price of 4.

2) There will be national mailing of 10,000 copies of the program to very prominent people. In addition, we propose local mailings with concentration upon trade union leaders, Negro leaders and leaders of peace movements, etc.

On the study of the program:

1) A study outline is now being prepared.

2) Initial discussions in the districts by the leadership should be organized and invitations extended to our national leadership,

3) We should strive for the organization of public discussions of all kinds, forums, debates, meetings, radio, TV, colleges, universities, teach-ins, etc.

4) Discussions in written form, in "Political Affairs," in supplements, and "The Worker" pages will be open too for discussions. "Political Affairs" will furnish a supplement called "Political Affairs Supplement," which will be open for discussions of the program. Suggestions, ideas, etc., are solicited from the CP all over the country for further wide distribution of the program.

LUMER further stated as follows: We cannot estimate the exact cost, but we need lots of money. The sales alone will not do it. We need \$10,000 above sales for the distribution. We propose launching a drive for this purpose. We will draw up lists of individuals to whom we can appeal for funds and contributions, nationally. With respect to the financial program, we are embarking on a national drive. The National Office will start a financial drive for the following:

\$10,000 for distribution of the program;
\$85,000 for "The Worker";
\$10,000 for the election campaign;
\$30,000 for convention preparations;
and, separate drives for youth and defense

Then, there was a report by JOE BRANDT on "The Worker" drive in which he stated that the newspaper is seeking 3,000 new subscriptions and 1,000 renewals. He noted that the January 23, 1966, issue of "The Worker" would contain detailed information regarding the drive for "The Worker."

There were some announcements by [redacted] at this point relative to pamphlets being prepared by the CP, USA for future distribution. b6 b7C

Following this, GUS HALL delivered a summary of this meeting. HALL stated in essence as follows:

A word about the program. A lot of work was put into the program. Many comrades worked on this program beyond the call of duty. They deserve commendation. I would cite AL RICHMOND, CARL WINTER, GIL GREEN, JIM JACKSON, and BY LUMER. I also want to thank HERBERT APTHEKER for his contribution during his trip to Hanoi and after. The discussion was an excellent one; some should be on tape, and can be used for the pre-convention discussion.

This meeting was a dialectical process of movement. This shapes our Party. This process, like the relation between the sun, soil and rain, influences one another. When our political environment stops influencing us, we would stop growing. The phrase used at this meeting about a positive spirit is a good one. We should each of us take a look at ourselves in Madison Avenue style and say, have I got something?

Now, about some specific questions of the report and the discussion. It would be wrong to say, now we are going to turn our face to the working class. What we are doing now is only emphasizing this fact. We are not counterposing one movement against another. If we want to advance peace, civil rights, etc., we must strengthen ourselves among the working class, the organized section first of all, meaning the trade unions. We must know the current and the moods in the working class. It would be wrong to measure the level of the trade union membership by the last resolution on foreign policy adopted at the AFL-CIO convention. The level is much higher among the workers than it was at the AFL-CIO convention. We must also be sensitive to the new factors in the working class, especially among the Negro workers. These Negro workers influence the level of consciousness of the entire working class. The factors that stirred the youth are affecting the working class also. These are the development of nuclear energy, the danger of a nuclear war, the progress of automation. The undercurrents are there.

We must understand these so that we can give spark and leadership to these movements. There are some dangers that our Party is not sensitive to these undercurrents.

On the question as to why did we not emphasize the working class before, let's be careful and not oversimplify. We needed further experiences to comprehend the situation. The Party was not ready for this approach because of wrong influences inside our ranks, middle class members. By preparations and work now done in the last years we have documented the world scene. This has helped, too.

I would not accept the explanation that we did not attack the trade union leadership, therefore we held back. Our history shows that we made a profession of this type of attack on the trade union leadership. This in the past showed a lack of confidence in the working class. This was really a syndicalist concept. Also, the Party was generally weak in mass work. We have thousands of communists in the trade unions but they succumb to difficulties. We can't underestimate these difficulties. But later they succumbed to ideological difficulties and became passive.

How can the Party use the ARCHIE BROWN court decision? Each case, of course, is different in each area. But we must get to the crux of the question and we must ask ourselves how does it apply to my union? What can we do to change the atmosphere in my union? What is different than ARCHIE BROWN's union? This is the central point in our trade union policy: how to change the ideological outlook of my union.

Now, on political action: The Committee of Political Education of AFL-CIO (COPE) remains an instrument, but is really not a political instrument. It is limited to a part of the organized working class. How to break out is the question, and at the same time how to build parallel organizations to widen political action.

The important thing about the last meeting was 1) the Party has new people in it, mainly youth; 2) the CP has broken into the mass movement, even been accepted in the peace movement; 3) the communists have broken through some trade union barriers as a result of court decisions and work on its own. This is why the CP now sees the trade union movement as a central focus of its attention, and that the working class must be the class, because according to MARX, ENGELS and LENIN, it is the working class that has to make the revolution.

Regarding the left: This left that we are talking about today is different than the 1930's and 1940's. There will be a new left in the trade unions, too, but that will be different than the old left. The Negro workers are a new phase and we must pay more attention to them. We must also pay more attention to the Catholic workers. In the old days we used to fight the Catholic workers; we can no longer underestimate this new situation. We must rule out our sectarianism of the past on these problems if we want to influence trade unions. Even some priests who fought us in the past will join with us to change the trade unions from their passive position today to a more active position on questions of the day.

On how to assess a good domestic policy, this is the problem. This is the basic problem with the JOHNSON Administration. It has a good domestic policy and a bad foreign policy. We can't solve it completely. Sometimes it will be the flip of a coin whether to support this or that candidate, but under no circumstances will we apologize for the war policies of a candidate. We must fight to influence the policy of the candidates in a positive way and get them to change these policies. We must not underestimate the peace feelings of the electorate. If we do we will fail.

When I visited Northern Minnesota, I learned about a Representative Blotnik (phonetic) who was elected by liberals, trade unions and progressives in the Minnesota tradition, but lately he began to support the war in Vietnam. So, in Minnesota, they may put up a candidate against Representative Blotnik and he could no longer ignore this thing. He had to start apologizing for his pro-Vietnam stand.

We must do everything possible to influence the situation and not underestimate the peace feelings of the electorate. We should explain that if a politician shifts his position on war, he will also shift his position on domestic economic issues and join with, or get closer to the reactionaries. The test of this meeting is not if we report back to our local organizations, but rather if we will be able to convince our cadre, politically and ideologically, to face new realities in the positive spirit.

Following HALL's summary, HENRY WINSTON made a short speech in praise of JAMES JACKSON and CARL WINTER. He formally announced a decision of the National Board to the effect that CARL WINTER would replace JIM JACKSON as Editor of "The Worker." JACKSON was resigning in order to have time to write a book concerning the Negro freedom movement in the U.S. and CARL WINTER would replace him as Editor of "The Worker" immediately.

JAMES JACKSON would, nevertheless, assume the title of Publisher of "The Worker," a title until then in disuse.

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The next speaker was [redacted] who reported on the convention schedule and the preparations for the National Convention of the CP, USA. The essence of his report is as follows:

- 1) The convention of the Party will be held in New York beginning Thursday, June 23, through June 26.
- 2) The public nature of the convention affects the size of the convention; therefore, we suggest 300 delegates, representing the various districts, and 150 alternate delegates. Then he proposed 300 Party guests and 300 non-Party guests. These non-Party guests should be of help to the convention. It will be difficult then to say who is a communist and who is not a communist.
- 3) We have no detailed proposals regarding TV and radio to voice the convention but these are being worked out.
- 4) A mass meeting attended by several thousand people will be organized on the eve of the convention.
- 5) As to the character of discussion, it should be a discussion with wide latitude. We will publish a special paper or bulletin for this and will utilize the pages of "Political Affairs."

The official convention call will be issued on February 15, 1966. The National Board and the Secretariat will present not only the general resolution that you have before you but will also present resolutions on trade unions, on the Negro and civil rights, on peace, youth, etc. We will also prepare resolutions concerning the constitution of our Party. A youth resolution is being prepared and will be sent out to the Party membership. This resolution is being prepared by the youth but is not fully ready yet. We also will have a meeting of the National Board that will review the leadership, and this question of leadership, too, will be presented to the Party for discussion. The final date for submission of articles for the convention discussion will be June 10th, unless a state convention is being held later in which case a special subcommittee of the National Board will process these later discussions for publication after the deadline.

We suggest that state conventions should be held in May or early June. We will set up a convention preparations committee and this committee will include people from other districts besides the leaders of the Secretariat and the National Board. There is a nucleus convention committee composed of DANNY RUBIN, MIKE STEIN, HELEN WINTER, RASHEED STOREY, and we will make additions to this committee. These comrades will be in charge of technical arrangements for housing accommodations, etc.

Then, we propose a committee to listen to appeals made up of IRVING POTASH, HELEN WINTER, and JACK KLING. Others will be added.

We also will issue invitations to other fraternal Parties from various parts of the world to come to our convention. The Secretariat is working out these proposals now.

Convention representation will be based on proportionate membership of each district. Every district is entitled to one delegate regardless of its size. In addition, it is entitled to one delegate for every 20 dues payments, if the membership is 100; 30 for 100-150; 5 for every 300 and beyond. This is to cut level of control by the big districts.

National Committee members would run as delegates to the convention in the different districts. If they are not elected, they would have a voice at the national convention but no vote. A referendum of the Party membership is in order and will be undertaken in order to allow the youth to participate. The present constitution demands two years' membership before being a delegate and, therefore, we have to change it. We want the final results of the referendum by March 1st. These constitutional rules apply to the districts, so they, too, are going to change national representation to six months' membership and the district representation of delegates to three months' membership. Any new organization that is formed three months before the convention is entitled to representation. This is based on the constitution.

The budget for the convention calls for a minimum expenditure for the three days of \$30,000. This would not take into consideration transportation and per diem. We will let the districts handle the per diem disbursements. The convention assessment will be equivalent to three months' dues. The Secretariat will have to work out ways and means to raise additional money because the assessment will not cover the expenses of the convention. All other proposals in connection

with the convention will go to the Secretariat. The date for the dues averages will be based on dues payments from October 1, 1965, to March 31, 1966.

Following the above, the final session of the meeting of the National Committee, CP, USA, concluded on January 17, 1966.

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✓ 100-156273

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM,
SOUTHWIDE PROTEST, FEBRUARY TWELVE NEXT, INFORMATION
CONCERNING-IS. ATLANTA FILE 100-6893.

~~SOUTHERN COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM,~~
IS-C. ATLANTA FILE 100-6857. BUFILE 100-444915.

COMINFIL OF SCLC, IS-C. ATLANTA FILE 100-5718.
BUFILE 100-438794.

Boat
RA
pl
A

THE SOUTHERN COORDINATING COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN
VIETNAM (SCCEWVN), AND THE ATLANTA COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR

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100-156273

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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FEB 10 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

421

1 Copy for Vides
100-114786

PH
100-114786

PAGE TWO

IN VIETNAM (ACEWVN), HELD A JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE ATLANTA AMERICANA MOTOR HOTEL IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, ON THE MORNING OF FEBRUARY TEN INSTANT. [] COORDINATOR FOR SCCEWVN, AS WELL AS SUBSISTENCE WORKER FOR SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC), WAS MAIN SPOKESMAN. ALSO SEATED AT TABLE WITH [] WERE [] MEMBER OF STEERING COMMITTEE OF ACEWVN, [] OFFICE MANAGER, SCCEWVN, AND [] OF SCCEWVN.

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[] ANNOUNCED THAT DEBATES, FORUMS AND DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE WAR IN VIETNAM WILL TAKE PLACE ACROSS THE SOUTH ON FEBRUARY TWELVE NEXT. [] EXPLAINED THAT THE SOUTHWIDE DAY OF PROTEST HAS BEEN PLANNED BY STUDENTS, FACULTY AND CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS ACROSS THE SOUTH, AND ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN COORDINATED BY THE SCCEWVN. [] LISTED THE FOLLOWING AS BEING AMONG THE CITIES WHERE ACTIVITIES ARE TO BE HELD: NEW ORLEANS, LA., TUGALOO, MISS., LITTLE ROCK, ARK., NASHVILLE, TENN., RICHMOND, VA., ATLANTA, GA., GAINESVILLE, FLA., MIAMI, FLA., AND HOUSTON, TEXAS. [] ALSO STATED THAT NORTHERN

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PAGE THREE

SUPPORT ACTIVITIES ARE PLANNED FOR BOSTON, CHICAGO, WESTCHESTER
COUNTY, N. Y., PHILADELPHIA, PITTSBURGH, LOS ANGELES, AND
BERKELEY. ACCORDING TO [] SPEAKERS AT THE ACTIVITIES
WILL BE [] OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE, AT LOS ANGELES, STAUGHTON LYND, AT TUGALOO COLLEGE
IN MISSISSIPPI, AND NASHVILLE, TENN., AS WELL AS ORETHA CASTLE,
FORMER FIELD SECRETARY OF CORE AT NEW ORLEANS.

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[] CALLED ATTENTION TO THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER
SPEAKOUT ON VIETNAM, BEING SPONSORED BY THE COMMITTEE FOR AN
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER SPEAKOUT ON VIETNAM, ON THE
AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY TEN INSTANT, IN DAVAGE HALL AT CLARK
COLLEGE IN ATLANTA, GA.

[] ADVISED DURING LATE MORNING
OF FEBRUARY TEN INSTANT, AN INDIVIDUAL WHO IDENTIFIED SELF AS []
[] ASKED [] EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, SCLC,
FOR INFORMATION REGARDING THE AFOREMENTIONED SPEAKOUT ON
VIETNAM. [] STARTED TO REFER TO "WE AID GUS HALL" BUT
WAS INTERRUPTED BY [] WHO ASKED [] FOR HIS NAME.

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PAGE FOUR

[] THEN FURNISHED [] PERTINENT INFORMATION AND SUGGESTED THERE MIGHT BE "THINGS" AT THE SPEAKOUT IN WHICH "YOU" WOULD BE INTERESTED. [] THEN STATED "WE'LL PROBABLY MAKE IT." [] TOLD [] HE WOULD LIKE TO SIT DOWN AND TALK WITH "YOU GUYS." AFTER ASCERTAINING [] ADDRESS, [] SAID, "I'LL SEE IF I CAN MAKE IT." DANCEA CONCLUDED CONTACT BY TELLING [] HE PROBABLY WOULD SEE HIM AT THE SPEAKOUT.

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AT APPROXIMATELY TWO THIRTY PM ON THE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY TEN INSTANT, DURING THE COURSE OF A SPOT CHECK OBSERVATION, A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE FBI NOTED TWO INDIVIDUALS DEPART FROM THE PREMISES WHERE THE AFOREMENTIONED SPEAKOUT WAS BEING HELD. BASED ON AVAILABLE PHOTOS, ONE OF THESE INDIVIDUALS WAS IDENTIFIED AS GUS HALL, LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A., AND THE OTHER INDIVIDUAL WAS IDENTIFIED AS [] CORRESPONDENT FOR "THE WORKER."

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ALL RECIPIENT OFFICES WILL NOTE THAT INFORMATION SET FORTH FROM [] IS FOR INFORMATION ONLY AND NO

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PAGE FIVE

ACTION SHOULD BE PREDICATED THEREON WHICH MIGHT JEOPARDIZE THE SECURITY OF
THIS SOURCE OF EXTREME SENSITIVITY. DISSEMINATION OF ANY SUCH
INFORMATION MUST ACCORDINGLY BE CLASSIFIED SECRET.

END

NY.....-/AXS

FBI NEW YORK

3 0, NEW YORK

2/15/66

SA [REDACTED]

(45)

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DOMINFIL, CORE
IS-3

Identity of Source

[REDACTED]

Description of info

CORE meeting, Saton Island,
NY.

b7D

Date Received

1/27/66

Original Located

[REDACTED]

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [REDACTED]
- 1 - New York 100-54303 [REDACTED] (43)
- 1 - New York 100-111573 [REDACTED] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CI-M) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (41)

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VJS:pcc
(5)

100-153735-2158

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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42	15 MAR 6
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Seaton

On January 18, 1966, a regular meeting of the Staten Island CORE Chapter was held at the Markham Houses Community Center, West New Brighton, S.I. Five people attended, including [redacted] Meeting began 8:35 P.M.

Among items discussed were:

1. Preparation for an educational seminar, including a questionnaire to be drafted and circulated in areas with high minority group population.
2. A case involving a person who complained of encountering discrimination while seeking to rent an apartment.
3. The resignation of [redacted] and it's effect on C.O.R.E.
4. Other business items.

Meeting ended 10:50 P.M.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
February 16, 1966

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 03-02-2012

~~SECRET~~

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

In mid-February, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Claude Lightfoot, National Vice Chairman and National Negro Commission Chairman, Communist Party (CP), USA, and Chairman of the Illinois CP District, and Henry Winston, also a National CP functionary, while recently meeting with certain Negro American Labor Council (NALC) people in New York City, discussed the possibility that the NALC on the East Coast can possibly play a role in the civil rights movement up and down the Atlantic Seaboard. In this regard, it was learned that Claude Lightfoot is giving consideration that the CP work through the NALC by injecting Dr. Martin Luther King's civil rights program which King has mounted in Chicago along with the Party's civil rights program into the National NALC Convention scheduled for sometime in May of 1966 in Baltimore, Maryland.

To carry out the above objective, Lightfoot was heard to state that he desires [redacted] who is in charge of the Industrial Clubs of the Illinois CP and a member of the practically defunct Chicago NALC Chapter, to go to New York City and while there explain to "our people in the NALC" the civil rights program of King which King is currently undertaking in the Chicago area. In this connection, Wright would also attempt to set up a "caucus" of "our people in the NALC" which caucus group would propose to the NALC Convention a civil rights program for the Atlantic Coast cities based on the programs of King and the CP in the civil rights movement. b6 b7C

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SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 17 1966	
FBI-NEW YORK	

~~SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-153735-2159

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

~~SECRET~~

Lightfoot was also heard to state that the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore should be target cities for this particular program.

No specific date was set with respect to the aforementioned caucus in New York City; however, the source is of the opinion that such a caucus would take place in the next three or four weeks if it materializes, and that in all probability, Lightfoot and Winston would also be in attendance.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 2/16/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

CINAL

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

IS - C

(Bufile 100-442529)

(NYfile 100-153735)

(CGfile 100-41324)

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

IS - C

(Bufile 100-432067)

(NYfile 100-139834)

(CGfile 100-36644)

*INDEX
of LHM
Page 1*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a LHM and appropriate copies for other offices listed below which contains information that is self-explanatory.

The source utilized in the LHM is [] who furnished the information to the Chicago Office on 2/14/66 and 2/15/66. b7D

- 7 - Bureau (Encs. 11) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-438794 SCLC
 - 1 - 100-106670 MARTIN LUTHER KING
- 4 - Atlanta (Encs. 4) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-5718 SCLC
 - 1 - 100-5586 MARTIN LUTHER KING
- 2 - Baltimore (Encs. 2) (RM)
- ③ - New York (Encs. 3) (RM)
 - 1 - 100-269 HENRY WINSTON
- 2 - Philadelphia (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 4 - Chicago
 - 1 - []
 - 1 - 100-32207 CINAL

EHW:jmd
(22)

100-153735

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
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FEB 17 1966	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-153735-2160

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____

Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-41324
CG 100-36644

[] learned of the information while in private conversation with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and [] both Illinois CP leaders, and as a result, extreme caution should be exercised in reporting the information set forth in the LHM.

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It also should be noted that in order to afford additional security for [] Chicago is therefore datelining the LHM "New York, New York".

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For the above reasons, the LHM is classified ~~secret~~ since it is not known how many people are aware of the proposed plan set forth in the LHM, it being noted that the information was learned through private conversation including CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT [] and the source.

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Chicago is closely following this matter and when additional details are learned, Chicago will immediately advise the Bureau of all pertinent information developed. Chicago will then by separate communication submit recommendation with respect to [] possible travel to New York City.

b7D

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

44-10-83475-1 GPO

File 100-155735-2161-64 Date 5/24/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

☐ Pending ☒ Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk { } Date { }

Date Charged

Employee

Location